Executive Summary
Family Mosaic Project:
A Longitudinal Study of Lone-parent
and Two-parent Families

NOVA SCOTIA
Community Services

The Family Mosaic

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and Two-parent Families

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Executive Summary
Family Mosaic Project

Over the last generation, fertility rates have dropped below replacement level, the percentage of children born into single-parent families has increased substantially, divorce rates have multiplied ten-fold, and women's labour-force participation rates have quadrupled (Dechman, 1995). The magnitude and speed of these changes have left us without a clear picture of what today's families really look like. Family life is both varied and dynamic. There are one and two-parent families; single and dual-earner families; blended, nuclear, and extended families. Families can be two-parent today and one-parent tomorrow; single-earner today and dual-earner tomorrow.

The Family Mosaic Project (FMP) provides policymakers, practitioners, and the public with information about the ever-changing realities of life in both one and two-parent families as children grow from infancy to adulthood. This project started over twenty years ago with a sample of 716 mothers who gave birth to their first child in a Nova Scotia hospital in 1978. The original sample was stratified on the basis of marital status. Half of the mothers were married when their first child was born and half were single when their first child was born. By drawing two comparable samples of married and single mothers, it is possible to give statistically-reliable estimates of outcomes for both family types. Weighting the data to compensate for the over-representation of single mothers also makes it possible to provide information on families in general.

Data collections for this project were conducted when the children were approximately 6 weeks, 9 months, 18 months, 10 years, and 20 years of age. The 6-week, 9-month, and 18-month data collections consisted of personal interviews with the mothers. The 10-year data collection consisted of personal interviews with mothers and psychological assessments of a sample of 223 of the children. The 20-year data collection consisted of telephone interviews with both the mothers and their sons or daughters who were, by then, young adults. Seventy percent (N = 500) of the mothers who started the project in 1978 were still involved in the 1999 data collection.

Eighty-six percent (N = 428) of the sons/daughters of these mothers also participated in the 1999 data collection.

Overall, the lives of the mothers and young people involved in the FMP elucidate the intricacies of processes of social and economic inclusion/exclusion. While some children come into the world with fewer advantages than others, there are no foregone conclusions. The various reports developed from the FMP help us understand how characteristics of family and community intertwine to either enhance or restrict the options available to youth.

Difficulties in the school system provide one of the earliest and most reliable predictors of future experiences of social and economic exclusion. While most of the mothers involved in the FMP pursued some type of upgrading, technical, vocational, or university training during the time they were raising their children, those who had started parenting with comparatively low levels of education never caught up with those who had completed at least secondary school. Furthermore, this educational disadvantage tended to filter into other domains of life and to be transmitted to their children.

There were particularly pervasive and prolonged difficulties among the small group of mothers who had left the school system at a very early stage. Overall, the lives of mothers who started parenting in 1978 with grade 9 or less were distinctly different than the lives of mothers who had completed even grade 10 or 11.

- 38 percent of mothers who started parenting with grade 9 or less were not employed for 15 out of the 20 years covered by the FMP, as compared to 19 percent of mothers who started parenting with grade 10 or 11, and 10 percent of mothers who started parenting with grade 12 or more.

- 75 percent of mothers with grade 9 or less, 55 percent of mothers with grade 10 or 11, and 30 percent of mothers with grade 12 or more were lone-parents at some time while they were raising their children.

- 62 percent of mothers with grade 9 or less, 28 percent of mothers with grade 10 or 11, and 18 percent of mothers with grade 12 or more were

living below the poverty line during at least one of the FMP data collections.

- 34 percent of mothers with grade 9 or less, 5 percent of mothers with grade 10 or 11, and 2 percent of mothers with grade 12 or more had experienced extended poverty.

- 70 percent of mothers with grade 9 or less, 36 percent of mothers with grade 10 or 11, and 13 percent of mothers with grade 12 or more had required social assistance at some time while they were raising their children.

- 28 percent of mothers with grade 9 or less, 8 percent of mothers with grade 10 or 11, and 5 percent of mothers with grade 12 or more were not involved in community groups or volunteer activities.

- 57 percent of mothers who had started parenting with grade 9 or less, 36 percent of mothers who had started parenting with grade 10 or 11, and 18 percent of mothers who had started parenting with grade 12 or more were still smoking on a regular basis at the time of the 20-year data collection.

- mothers who had started parenting with grade 9 or less had visited the doctor an average of 83 times in the final ten years of the FMP, in comparison to 55 times for mothers who had started parenting with grade 10 or 11, and 50 times for mothers who had started parenting with grade 12 or more.

There were obviously differences between the lives of mothers with grade 10 or 11 education and those with university degrees. However, these differences could be considered inequalities, with the experiences of those at the very bottom of the educational ladder being more characteristic of exclusion.

The labour market provides a clear example of the distinction between inequality and exclusion. Whereas some members of the labour force are more advantaged than others in terms of steady employment, higher incomes, and more employment benefits, there is another segment of the

population that is neither employed nor unemployed, but essentially outside the market. The labour force participation and earnings of mothers generally vary with respect to their years of schooling, but those who start parenting with grade 9 or less are much more likely to experience prolonged poverty and to require public income assistance. While those participating in the labour market could be considered to be experiencing relative inequalities, those outside the labour market could be considered to be excluded. It is such exclusion, and particularly prolonged exclusion, that is likely to create the most detrimental consequences. Hence, those who remain outside the labour market for extended periods of time are often referred to as discouraged workers because they eventually give up looking for work. It is also well known that the longer the duration of such exclusion the more difficult it is to overcome. This does not mean that all mothers with grade 9 or less education experience exclusion, nor that those with higher levels of education are immune, but rather that difficulties in the school system are probably one of the earliest and most reliable indicators of the beginning stages of the processes of economic and social exclusion.

In keeping with much other research, the FMP demonstrates that today's young people are much more likely to make it through grade 12 than their mothers were 20 years ago. However, with this increased educational attainment has come increased demands for higher credentials. While the mothers in the FMP who had grade 10 or 11 typically had some type of technical or vocational training and could obtain fairly regular employment, this is not the case today. In the 'new economy', grade 12 may not even be enough to obtain the type of steady work that could have been secured with grade 10 or 11 twenty years ago. While the proportion of youth completing high school has risen, the comparative disadvantage of those who have not made it through has become more pronounced. We might expect that with the monumental rise in grade 12 completion, there would no longer be any youth who leave the school system with only grade 9 or less. This, however, is not the case. Approximately 1 in 3 of today's early school leavers have nothing more than a grade 9.

Even though the youth involved in the FMP have only reached their early twenties, those who left the school system are already exhibiting distinctly different life patterns than those who completed grade 12.

- 27 percent of early school leavers in comparison to 2 percent of grade 12 completers have spent at least half of their time since leaving school neither involved in educational nor employment pursuits.

- 25 percent of early school leavers and 2 percent of grade 12 completers have a dependent child.

- 28 percent of early school leavers and 3 percent of grade 12 completers have personally required social assistance at some time.

- 65 percent of early school leavers and 19 percent of grade 12 completers are smokers.

- early school leavers also report lower levels of self esteem and life satisfaction, perceive themselves as having less control over their lives, and generally report somewhat lower subjective assessments of their health.

While educational attainment is recognized in our society primarily as a marker of human capital, the pervasiveness of its effects would suggest there is much more at stake than knowledge acquisition. The longitudinal nature of the FMP data set makes it possible to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the lives of early school leavers have differed from the lives of those who have completed grade 12, from their birth to their early twenties.

Much of the literature assessing outcomes for children and youth focuses on what are considered to be "risk" factors. That is, those children who experience these circumstances are at increased risk of dropping out of school, being unemployed and experiencing other difficulties throughout their lives. Such risk factors typically focus on areas such as family structure, residential stability, and socio-economic status. Consistent with other research, the FMP demonstrates that each of these conditions does affect the probability of early school leaving.

- children who live in a lone-parent family at some time are 5 times more likely to leave school before completing grade 12 than are children who live continuously in a two-parent family, (25 versus 5 percent)

- children who live below the poverty line at some time are twice as likely to leave the school system as are children who do not live in poverty (23 versus 9 percent),

- children whose families receive social assistance at some time are 3 times more likely to leave the school system than are children whose families never receive social assistance (30 versus 7 percent),

- children whose mothers had not completed grade 12 before they were born are twice as likely to leave the school system as are children whose mothers had completed grade 12 (18 versus 8 percent),

- children who change their place of residence are 15 times as likely to leave the school system as are children who never change their place of residence (15 versus 1 percent).

One of the difficulties with presenting findings in this manner is that it leads to negative stereotyping. There are few of us who would dispute that if we were choosing we would prefer to have a higher rather than a lower level of education, more rather than less money, and a more rather than less stable family life. Consequently, it should not be surprising that those who are living under what we would consider more challenging circumstances experience more of the negatives and fewer of the positives in life. This does not, however, translate into the assumption that children in such households are destined for failure. Under any one of the conditions considered to be "risk" factors, the majority of children are successful. For example, three quarters of children who live in a lone-parent family make it through grade 12. This sends quite a different message than that implied in negative stereotyping. Despite challenging circumstances, families continue to struggle to support their children in the best way they can.

A second difficulty with such broad "at risk" designations is that most children experience one or more of these characteristics at some time while they are growing up. For example, approximately 40 percent of children now live in a lone-parent family at some time while they are growing up and 80 percent have changed their place of residence at least once.

Children who do not make it through the school system today typically have experienced not just one but multiple social and economic conditions at the extreme end of the spectrum. The homes of almost all early school leavers fit at least one of the factors listed below and half fit five or more:

- mother with grade 9 or less education when first child was born,
- mother who was under 19 years of age when child was born,
- family lived in unacceptable accommodations at some time,
- moved 5 or more times,
- lived in poverty at some time,
- required social assistance at some time,
- experienced at least 2 or more changes in their family, for example, divorce, remarriage,
- the youth lived in a lone-parent family for at least half of their life.

What does this tell us about trying to target 'at risk' children? First, the broad definition of 'at risk' would now include the majority of children. Second, many children move in and out of what are considered to be 'at risk' designations throughout the course of their lives. Third, a more accurate definition of 'at risk' that involves prolonged disadvantage can only be identified 'after the fact' when it is too late to intervene.

Rather than seeking to identify and address the problems of individual children, it would be more effective to concentrate on the underlying dynamics of disadvantage. Children are born with certain characteristics and into certain family environments that are then shaped and reshaped through interactions within their social context. Successive interactions change both the attitudes and behaviours of the child and the attitudes and behaviours of others with whom the interaction occurs, such as parents, peers, and teachers. This process sets in motion a series of events that can either enhance or restrict future life choices. Such interactions are not only restricted to direct relationships with the child but also occur amongst influential adults in the child's life. For example, teachers' perceptions and behaviours toward a child can affect parents' perceptions and behaviours toward the child and vice versa setting in motion either a positive or negative spiral. In the case of negative assessments, the potential for exclusion can expand from one sphere, such as the school, to another sphere, such as the

family. The more pervasive such exclusion becomes, the more damaging are the consequences and the more difficult to reverse.

What do we know about the broader social conditions that surround early school leaving? The homes of virtually all early school leavers were characterized by at least one of the following characteristics and half fit three or more:

- mother reporting little or no support for child rearing,
- mother not involved in community activities,
- mother believing son/daughter was not fairly treated at school,
- mother not feeling comfortable discussing concerns with teachers,
- youth not involved in extracurricular activities at school,
- youth not involved in community activities,
- mother considering youth to be a difficult teen,
- youth leaving home before 18 years of age.

Generally speaking, disengagement is an extended process marked not only by problems at home but also by problems at school. Virtually all early school leavers had experienced at least one, and half had experienced 5 or more, of the following:

- having an elementary teacher indicate their behaviour was inappropriate,
- having below-average performance rating in elementary,
- repeating one or more grades,
- feeling teachers were not encouraging,
- perceiving teachers as not dealing fairly with students,
- not feeling free to express opinions in class,
- being uncomfortable asking questions if they did not understand something,
- believing teachers thought they would not do well in life,
- sometimes not feeling safe at school.

There is no one answer to early school leaving. Rather, multiple different interventions are required to accomplish the same goal for different students. Once the process of disadvantage is set in motion, it can be either accentuated or diminished through positive or negative interactions with parents, friends, neighbours, school personnel, and community leaders.

There is no typical child, typical family, nor typical life - searching for one is at best futile and at worst damaging to those who fall outside the specified 'norm'. Improvements in the quality of life of children and families will come not from instituting more rigid standards, but rather from introducing increased flexibility in schools, post-secondary institutions and workplaces that can facilitate the growth and development of all, not only those who have the fewest challenges to distract them from their studies or employment. Our efforts should focus on ensuring that all individuals have the opportunity to progress toward socially and economically-desirable goals. If we fail to provide a place for people within our social and economic structures, such exclusion will not only have negative repercussions for the individuals themselves, but also devastating consequences for the larger society.

The evaluation of children's achievements in the school system provides an apt example of how a refocusing of goals can serve to diminish exclusion. Under a rigid grading system, all children are expected to accomplish predefined tasks at a predefined rate. Obviously, the success of meeting these benchmarks depends on numerous conditions related not only to the child's innate ability but also to characteristics of the school and home environment. Under such a system it is not surprising that family characteristics figure prominently in the probability of success. For example, those children who experience more challenges because they and/or their families are stressed by poverty, health problems, violence, or grief, are more likely to fall behind. Once such slippage occurs, grade retention intensifies rather than diminishes the probability of positive outcomes because the associated stigma damages the child's confidence in their ability to learn.

Not all children come to school with the same package of assets. Consequently, expecting them all to achieve at the same rate is unrealistic. The more rigid the demand for strict standards the more strain is placed on relationships among children, parents, and teachers, with each blaming the other and/or themselves for failure. Such negative communication patterns then exacerbate rather than diminish existing difficulties. Assessing and rewarding achievement based on individual progress rather than by comparison to group norms has the potential to shift goals and communication patterns toward a more positive focus on problem solving

and progress rather than blaming and failure. We bring out in children what we see in them.

While some would criticize such an approach as lowering standards, it is more likely to improve standards. Enabling each student to progress at their own rate within their own real-life circumstances enhances rather than detracts from the probability that they will eventually succeed in mastering the expected curriculum. Conversely, insisting that all students progress at the same rate sets many students up for failure, thus ultimately depleting rather than enhancing the nation's human resource capacity.

The preceding discussion of individual versus group-based progress assessment is meant to exemplify the general means by which refocusing on outcomes can serve to reduce social exclusion while at the same time improving human capital development. This does not mean that this or any other single initiative can be looked to as the one magic bullet to solve all problems.

It should be clear from the multi-faceted, interactive and cumulative nature of child development that there is no one solution to disadvantage. However, the lack of a 'one size fits all' solution does not detract from the fact that there are some policy and program reforms that are likely to move us in a positive direction and others that are likely to do the converse. Rather than depleting our energy arguing over what is the 'one' problem that deserves all our attention, we must rather recognize that addressing the core of disadvantage requires a lot of different approaches to a lot of different issues that have in common not the approach but rather the goal. The success of policies and programs must be judged on their strength in meshing with other policies and programs to provide the infrastructure necessary to support comprehensive change. Formative program evaluations that tend to abandon effective as well as ineffective components of particular initiatives should be replaced by summative evaluation techniques that facilitative continuous improvement and knowledge building. We must strive to ensure that everyone has a place within our social and economic structures. Rather than being at odds, social and economic progress are inextricably intertwined.

Employment Profiles of Mothers:
A Longitudinal Study of Lone-parent
and Two-parent Families

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Community Services

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Introduction

Over the last generation, fertility rates have dropped below replacement level, the percentage of children born into single-parent families has increased substantially, divorce rates have multiplied ten-fold, and women's labour-force participation rates have quadrupled (Dechman, 1995). The magnitude and speed of these changes have left us without a clear picture of what today's families really look like. Family life is both varied and dynamic. There are one and two-parent families; single and dual-earner families; blended, nuclear, and extended families. Families can be two-parent today and one-parent tomorrow; single-earner today and dual-earner tomorrow.

The Family Mosaic Project provides policymakers, practitioners, and the public with information about the ever-changing realities of life in both one and two-parent families as children grow from infancy to adulthood. This project started over twenty years ago with a sample of 716[1] mothers who gave birth to their first child in a Nova Scotia hospital in 1978. The original sample was stratified on the basis of marital status. Half of the mothers were married when their first child was born and half were single when their first child was born. By drawing two comparable samples of married and single mothers, it is possible to give statistically-reliable estimates of outcomes for both family types. Weighting the data to compensate for the over-representation of single mothers also makes it possible to provide information on families in general.

Data collections for this project were conducted when the children were approximately 6 weeks, 9 months, 18 months, 10 years, and 20 years of age. The 6-week, 9-month, and 18-month data collections consisted of personal interviews with the mothers. The 10-year data collection consisted of personal interviews with mothers and psychological assessments of a random sample of 223 of the children. The 20-year data collection consisted of telephone interviews with both the mothers and their sons or daughters, who were, by then, young adults. Seventy percent (N = 500) of the mothers who started the project in 1978 were still involved in the 1999 data collection. Eighty-six percent (N = 428) of the sons/daughters of these mothers also participated in the 1999 data collection. More detailed information on the

study design and associated questionnaires can be found in the Methodology Report (Dechman, 2001a).

Previous reports from the FMP have covered changes in family structure, social-support networks, and mothers' educational pursuits. This report focuses on mothers' employment patterns. Future reports will examine family income as well as outcomes for youth in the areas of education, employment, health, and well-being.

Policy and Research Context

The twenty-year period encompassed by this research was part of a historical period marked by significant economic and social change. The labour-force participation rate of Nova Scotia women more than doubled between the 1960s and 1990s (Statistics Canada, 1971; Statistics Canada, 1991). While women's employment had previously been seen as a prelude to marriage, it became the norm for women to continue to be employed after becoming wives and mothers (Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 34). In the 1950s, only 1 out of 10 married women were in the labour force (Dechman, 1995: 3-7). Today, approximately 6 out of 10 married women are in the labour force (Dechman, 1995: 3-7).

As distinctions between breadwinner and caregiver roles became increasingly blurred, public opinion reporters focused on the question of whether mothers "should" be working outside the home. What would be the costs to families and children?

Some welcomed increases in employment as a means of enhancing women's autonomy by freeing them from almost complete economic dependence on men.

> Monica Boyd, Margrit Eichler and John Hofley make the point that while in an agricultural setting spouses were economically dependent on each other, the modern full-time housewife was economically dependent on her husband. As a result, her bargaining position vis-á-vis her husband deteriorated. This loss is recouped, however, when she has an independent income. In other words, there is a psychological pressure as well as an economic pressure on the wife to participate in order to regain her sense of self-worth (Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 40).

Others perceive increases in women's employment as an abandonment of their fundamental mothering role.

> American commentator Zoe Dena... does not flatter the women's movement. "We women forgot our place in the universe, she writes. We, the most self-absorbed generation ever to walk the planet, forgot that we were but a bead on the chain of generations. We sold our inheritance, our culture, our values and our children for a mess of pottage" (Byfield, 1995).

While the media created the 'mommy wars', pitting employed against 'stay-at-home' mothers, researchers compared and contrasted behavioural and academic outcomes for children in households where mothers were employed versus households where mothers were at home (Ward, 1994: 150; Barling and MacEwen, 1991; Paulson, 1996). Related policy discussions debated whether it was best to support initiatives such as tax breaks that encouraged women to stay at home with their children or whether it was best to support initiatives such as improved access to childcare that promoted mothers' employment (Gunter, 1998).

Women now constitute almost half (47 percent) of the Nova Scotia workforce (Statistics Canada, 1999). Approximately 1 in 5 children live in lone-parent families where their primary care giver is also the potential wage earner (Statistics Canada, 1997: 8). Even in two-parent families, both mothers and fathers usually are involved in paid employment (Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 37; Marshall, 1993: 23). Only 20 percent of Nova Scotia husband-wife families still fit the 'male breadwinner' model (McFadyen, 2001: 3). As a consequence of such changes in family structure and employment patterns, few families have anyone at home on a full-time basis to respond to the needs of dependent children, persons with disabilities, and/or the elderly. Approximately 3 out of 4 workers report that they have care-giving responsibilities in addition to their employment (Canadian Aging Research Network, 1993: 1). In response to the increasing number of workers finding themselves juggling employment and family demands, researchers have examined the stresses and strains of employed parents and recommended flex-time, job sharing, family leave and other policies that would enable staff to manage both their jobs and their care-giving responsibilities (Seyler et al, 1995; Warren and Johnson, 1995). Unfortunately, even when there are family-friendly policies in place, their utility to women with care-giving responsibilities is often limited.

Now that some family-friendly policies are beginning to take root, the media battlefield has shifted from the home to the workplace. A recent headline in the National Post read:

> Childless workers are getting tired of picking up the slack for their breeding colleagues (Owen, 2000).

This article then went on to pit employed parents against colleagues who did not have children.

> Parents in the workforce, take heed: There is a hidden under class out there and they are tired of working all the holidays, sick of staying late when you pick up your children from day care, and weary of picking up the slack during your paid maternity leave (Owen, 2000).

Even though it is now relatively common for employees to have outside care-giving demands and they may be perceived as unfairly advantaged by some of their coworkers, it is clear that care-giving responsibilities diminish advancement opportunities and earnings for women (Bankert and Googins, 1996). While women have been spending increasing time on paid employment, there has not been a corresponding reduction in the number of hours spent on household and care-giving roles. Despite labour-saving devices, rising social standards related to home and children have left the number of hours women spend on household and care-giving demands relatively unchanged (Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 42; Colman, 1998: 51). Employed mothers spend an average of 11 hours per day on paid and unpaid work combined (Colman, 1998: 20). The time crunch is particularly acute for mothers with young children. "According to the 1992 General Social Survey, women in dual-earner families with children under age 6 spent, on average, just over 14 hours per day on paid and unpaid work" (Logan and Belliveau, 1995). Because of such heavy demands, many women reduce their hours of employment or leave the labour force completely for periods of time to care for young children and/or elderly parents (Drolet, 1999: 19; Best, 1995: 33; Marshall, 1994: 30; Drolet and Morissette, 1997: 35). Such part-time or intermittent work patterns weaken their competitive position in the labour market and negatively impact their long-term earning potential (Drolet, 1999:

30). Resolving the family-employment balance with part-time jobs has economic costs in terms of lost income, erosion of their wage rate, loss of seniority, savings, pension contributions, and other workplace benefits. Even women who do not have heavy care-giving demands may be affected by general stereotyping, with employers being less likely to hire or promote women because they fear unforseen care-giving demands could detract from their job focus in the future (Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 64).

Labour-force interruptions are detrimental for women's long-term occupational success. Even very short labour-force withdrawals create immediate wage penalties upon re-entry, perhaps because it removes women from internal labour market information networks that lead to higher pay (Felmlee, 1995). Rosenfeld (1996) also found that women who changed jobs because they had left the labour force during the birth of a child were more likely to experience downward job mobility than were women who changed jobs at other times. Similarly, Waldfogel (1997) found significantly larger wage increases over time among mothers who stayed with the same employer following the birth of a child (and took maternity leave) than those who changed jobs. The reasons for these differences can be understood by a number of factors. Mothers who are continuously employed are more likely to accrue seniority and experience with one employer and such are better compensated. Glass and Riley (1998) also suggest that mothers who stayed with employers continuously worked in organizations that valued and rewarded seniority and therefore were more likely to provide the necessary incentives (e.g. family-friendly policies) to their employees.

Another component of the wage gap between women and men relates to the clustering of women in female-dominated occupational groupings (Drolet, 1999: 29-30). Even though women now hold approximately half of all jobs, their work still reflects the care-giving and support roles traditionally performed in the home. Three-quarters of employed women in Nova Scotia work in the areas of health care, teaching, clerical, or general sales or services, such as hair dressing, cooking, bartending, and waitressing (Dechman, 1995: 4-12). While teachers and nurses tend to be employed in the primary labour market that offers relatively high wages, stable employment, rising salary scales, and fringe benefits; many clerical, and the vast majority of service, workers are in the secondary labour market that

offers low wages, sporadic employment, no advancement potential, and few fringe benefits (Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 69 - 82).

Not only are women in general disadvantaged in the labour market, but also this disadvantage is particularly pronounced for lone-parent mothers. Statistics Canada reports that in comparison to mothers in two-parent families, lone-parent mothers are less likely to be employed (Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993). US researchers have found that those lone-parent mothers who are employed are also more likely than mothers in two-parent families to have jobs in the secondary, rather than the primary, labour market (Edin and Lein, 1997).

In addition, involuntary employment changes because of child-care responsibilities may have more negative consequences for lone mothers. As Ali and Avison (1997) note in their study in London, Ontario, single mothers experienced significant increases in stress associated with job transitions due to children, while married mothers did not. Stress inducing factors for single mothers included financial strains, low self-esteem, and lack of mastery.

There are also distinctions between different types of lone-parent mothers. A closer examination of Statistics Canada data reveals that most of the employment differential between married and lone-parent mothers is attributable to single rather than divorced lone parents (Cleveland and Hyatt, 1996: vi). In 1981, Nova Scotia divorced mothers were more likely to be employed (61 percent) than were Nova Scotia mothers who were married (42 percent) (Statistics Canada, 1996). The relative standings of these two groups has reversed, with married mothers now being slightly more likely to be employed than divorced mothers, 60 and 57 percent respectively (Statistics Canada, 1996). On the other hand, never-married mothers have always had the lowest levels of employment, and their situation has worsened over time. While 41 percent of never-married mothers were employed in 1981, only 31 percent were employed in 1996 (Statistics Canada, 1996).

These Statistics Canada data capture information at particular points in time. The Family Mosaic Project (FMP) expands our understanding of the labour-force experiences of mothers by tracking employment histories from the birth

of their first child through to the time when that child reaches twenty years of age. Such longitudinal data provides a more comprehensive view of how and why mothers move in and out of the labour force throughout their child-rearing years.

Findings from the Family Mosaic Project

Most mothers were neither continuously employed nor continuously at home.

While ideological debates over mothers' employment have sensitized us to the importance of both economic and care-giving roles, the adversarial forum of such debates has tended to present mothers as being either 'stay at home' or 'employed'. Results of the FMP show that such rigid categorical distinctions simply do not reflect the reality of most mothers' lives. Only approximately 5 percent of mothers were employed for less than one year throughout the time period covered by this study.[2] Conversely, only 10 percent of mothers were employed virtually continuously, with less than one year for which they did not have a job.[3] More typically, mothers were employed for some, but not all, of the time they were raising their children. Over the 20 to 21-year time period covered by this project, mothers were employed for an average of 12 years.[4]

Young mothers had particularly weak attachments to the labour force.

While mothers' employment patterns presented a continuum with some mothers having spent very little time in the labour force and other mothers having spent substantial time in the labour force; there were significant differences between married and single mothers in terms of where they were likely to place on this continuum. In general, mothers who were lone parents at the time their first child was born had the lowest levels of employment, mothers who were continuously married had only slightly higher levels of employment, and mothers who became lone parents through divorce had the most intensive labour-force participation patterns.

Length of Employment by Family Structure

Length of Employment	Family Structure: Continuously Married	Initially Married and Later Divorced	Initially Single
5 or Fewer Years	16%	13%	21%
More Than 5 up to 10 Years	21%	15%	20%
More Than 10 up to 15 Years	25%	17%	26%
More Than 15 Years	38%	55%	33%
Unweighted N	(189)	(105)	(112)

Cramer's V = .12***[5]

Over the twenty years covered by this research, 55 percent of divorced mothers, 38 percent of continuously married mothers, and 33 percent of mothers who were single when their first child was born were employed in excess of 15 years. As indicated in the introduction, higher labour-force participation rates of divorced versus continuously-married mothers were indicative of this particular time period. The labour-force participation rates of married mothers have now exceeded those of divorced mothers.[6]

Closer examination of labour-force trends showed that the lower levels of employment for mothers who were single when their first child was born related more to their age than to their marital status.[7]

Length of Employment By Mother's Initial Age and Marital Status

Length of Employment	Age and Marital Status When First Child was Born: Single and 19 or Under	Single and Over 19	Married and 19 or Under	Married and Over 19
5 or Fewer Years	25%	11%	24%	13%
More Than 5 up to 10 Years	19%	20%	24%	19%
More Than 10 up to 15 Years	27%	23%	25%	21%
More Than 15 Years	29%	46%	27%	47%
Unweighted N	(77)	(35)	(74)	(194)

Cramer's V = .12*[8]

There was little difference between the labour-force patterns of young-single and young-married mothers. Approximately one-quarter of each of these groups of mothers had very low attachments to paid employment. By comparison, only 11 percent of the older-single mothers and 13 percent of the older-married mothers exhibited such low attachment. Recent labour-force trends indicate that younger mothers are even more disadvantaged in today's labour market than they were at the time this study began (Dooley, 1995: 61).

Mothers with low levels of education had less attachment to paid employment.

As demonstrated in the previous report from the FMP entitled *Educational Profiles of Mothers* (Dechman, 2000b), the age at which women gave birth to their first child was correlated with educational attainment. Young mothers started out with, and continued to have, comparatively low levels of education throughout the time they were raising their children. The results of a multiple regression including mother's education as well as mother's age and marital status demonstrated that education was by far the strongest determinant of length of employment. This is consistent with other research that has identified educational attainment as a primary indicator of mothers' employment patterns (Lero and Brockman, 1993: 104).

Correlations of Initial Age, Initial Marital Status, and Total Years of Education with Length of Employment

Variable	r
Number of Years of Education	.36***[9]
Age When First Child was Born	.22***
Marital Status When First Child was Born	-.10*[10]

Regressions Coefficients for Initial Age, Initial Marital Status, and Total Years of Education with Length of Employment

Variables	ßeta
Number of Years of Education	.32***
Age When First Child was Born	.13
Marital Status When First Child was Born	.07

Multiple R = .37***, Unweighted N = 378[11]

Mothers with low levels of education were employed for significantly less time than were mothers with higher levels of education. Once education was taken into consideration, neither the mother's initial age nor her initial marital status was significantly correlated with employment outcomes.[12] While the age at which women assume the responsibilities of motherhood may bear some relation to future employment prospects, much of this effect is related to differences in educational attainment.

Length of Employment By Mother's Educational Attainment

	Mother's Educational Attainment	
Length of Employment	Mother Completed Grade 12	Mother Never Completed Grade 12
5 or Fewer Years	10%	31%
More Than 5 up to 10 Years	19%	20%
More Than 10 up to 15 Years	22%	23%
More Than 15 Years	49%	26%
Unweighted N	(265)	(140)

Cramer's V = .31***[13]

Almost one third of mothers who had not completed Grade 12 were employed for 5 or fewer years as compared to only 10 percent of mothers who had completed Grade 12. Approximately half of the mothers who had completed Grade 12 and only one quarter of those who had not completed Grade 12 were employed for 15 or more years.

In a British study (Bryson, Ford, and White, 1997) of lone mothers' employment and well-being, a very important factor keeping lone mothers out of employment was a lack of qualifications and training. Low qualifications

and depressed earnings capacity made it hard for lone mothers to meet the costs of childcare when working. Over the four-year period of this British study of lone mothers, it was noted that the majority of lone mothers had young children to care for on their own and if they got a job, the costs of paid day care were substantial. Low qualifications and work experience resulting in low-paid jobs combined with the cost of child care to create a financial barrier to entering paid work that many mothers could not cross. This study also noted that exposure to severe family hardship (based on a composite index of material living conditions and consumption) had an adverse effect on employment. Those in hardship in 1991 were less likely to have jobs even four years later, in 1995.

Women who were at least 20 years of age when their first child was born were more likely to have established a foothold in the labour market before they became mothers and were more likely to continue this attachment to the workforce throughout the time their children were growing up.

Most women who were over 19 years of age when they had their first child were employed at the time they became pregnant. Conversely, very few teenage mothers held jobs.

- 80 percent of women who were married and 20 years of age or over were employed when they became pregnant with their first child,[14]
- 70 percent of women who were single and 20 years of age or over were employed when they became pregnant with their first child,
- 25 percent of women who were married and 19 years of age or under, and
- 15 percent of women who were single and 19 years of age or under were employed when they became pregnant with their first child (See Appendix Table 1).

Although diminished somewhat over time, the mother's age at the time of first birth continued to affect her labour-force participation, even after twenty

years.[15] One of the reasons for the reduction in differences at the time of the 20-year interview was that some of the older mothers had retired.

Employment Rates for Different Periods of Child Rearing By Initial Marital Status and Age [16]

Employment Rates	Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born				
	Single and 19 or Under	Single and Over 19	Married and 19 or Under	Married and Over 19	Cramer's V
18 Months Unweighed N	21% (91)	37% (43)	35% (26)	55% (219)	.29***
10 Years Unweighted N	47% (95)	61% (46)	45% (89)	66% (220)	.20**
20 Years Unweighted N	67% (96)	77% (47)	75% (94)	80% (229)	.18**

Not only were there differences in the length of employment of mothers in one and two-parent families, but also there were different reasons why mothers spent time out of the labour force. When mothers who were continuously married were not employed, this was usually perceived as a matter of choice. Women who had been lone parents at some time were more likely to have been involuntarily unemployed.

Reported Frequency of Unemployment By Family Structure

Frequency of Unemployment	Family Structure		
	Continuously Married	Initially Married and Later Divorced	Initially Single
Often	6%	7%	9%
Sometimes	6%	9%	16%
Not Very Often	18%	31%	26%
Never	70%	53%	49%
Unweighted N	(215)	(119)	(129)

Cramer's V = .15***

Seventy percent of mothers who were continuously married reported that they had never been unemployed. Mothers who had been lone parents either at the time their first child was born or later on through divorce, were more likely to have been involuntarily unemployed.

The frequency of unemployment was linked not just to the mother's marital status, but also to the age at which women assumed the responsibilities of child rearing. Teenage married mothers reported approximately the same levels of unemployment as did mothers who were single when their first child was born. Mothers who were married and over 19 years of age when their first child was born, were the least likely to have been actively looking for but unable to find a job.

Reported Frequency of Unemployment By Mother's Initial Marital Status and Age

	Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born			
Frequency of Unemployment	Single and 19 or Under	Single and Over 19	Married and 19 or Under	Married and Over 19
Often	8%	9%	8%	5%
Sometimes	15%	19%	14%	6%
Not Very Often	27%	24%	27%	21%
Never	50%	48%	51%	68%
Unweighted N	(87)	(42)	(88)	(220)

Cramer's V = .13*[17]

When continuously married mothers worked part time, it was usually so they could spend more time with their children. When lone-parent mothers worked part time, it was usually because they were unable to obtain full-time employment.

The number of years of employment provides only partial information about the intensity of mothers' labour-force participation. Mothers varied not only with respect to the number of years for which they were employed but also with respect to the number of hours for which they were employed per week. The majority of mothers who had been employed had worked part time at some point (66 percent).[18]

Those mothers who were continuously married were slightly more likely to have worked part time, but differences between continuously married and lone-parent mothers were only statistically significant when the children were over 10 years of age[19] (See Appendix Tables 2 through 4).

- 58 percent of continuously married mothers,
- 42 percent of single mothers, and
- 38 percent of divorced mothers who had been employed after their child reached 10 years of age had worked part time.

Despite basic similarities in the probability of part-time employment, there were different reasons why mothers worked part time. Almost one out of every two of the mothers who were single when their first child was born and who had worked part time, said they always had done so because they were unable to get full-time employment.[20] Only one in four mothers who had been married and later divorced, and one in five mothers who were continuously married, said their part-time employment always had been because they could not get full-time employment.

Reasons for Having Part-time Employment By Family Structure

	Family Structure		
Reasons For Part-time Employment	Continuously Married	Initially Married and Later Divorced	Initially Single
Unable to Get Full-time Work	16%	25%	43%
Sometimes Unable to Get Full-time Work	11%	15%	3%
Other Reasons	73%	60%	54%
Unweighted N	(150)	(75)	(73)

Cramer's V = .19***

Mothers who were single and 19 years of age or under when their first child was born were the most likely to say they had worked part time because they were unable to get full-time employment.[21] Mothers who were married and over 19 when they had their first child were much more likely to have chosen to work part time. Those mothers who worked part time for reasons unrelated to the availability of full-time employment usually said they did so because they wanted to have more time with their children. Married mothers were more likely able to have other sources of financial support and were more able to work on a part-time basis.

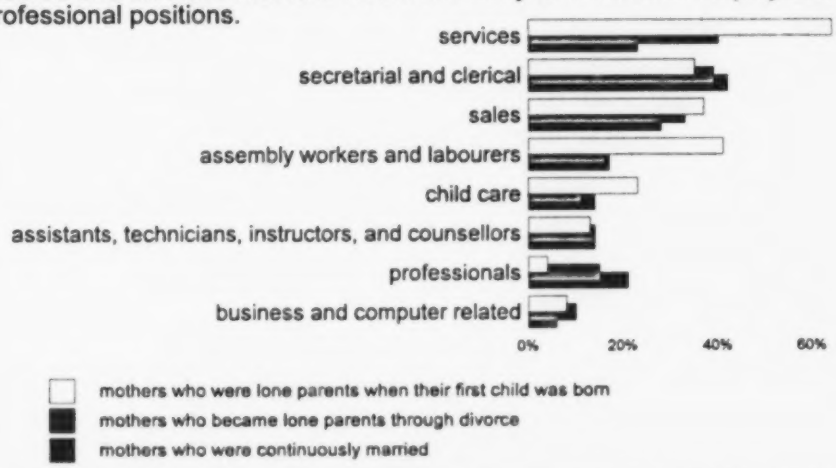
Reasons for Having Part-time Employment By Mother's Initial Marital Status and Age

Reasons for Part-time Employment	Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born			
	Single and 19 Years of Age or Under	Single and Over 19 Years of Age	Married and 19 Years of Age or Under	Married and Over 19 Years of Age
Unable to Get Full-time Work	47%	32%	19%	17%
Sometimes Unable to Get Full-time Work	4%	0%	19%	11%
Other Reasons	49%	68%	62%	72%
Unweighted N	(51)	(22)	(59)	(145)

Cramer's V = .22***[22]

Continuously married and divorced lone parents were more likely to have been employed in professional jobs, while mothers who were single when their first child was born were more likely to have worked in service or labour positions.

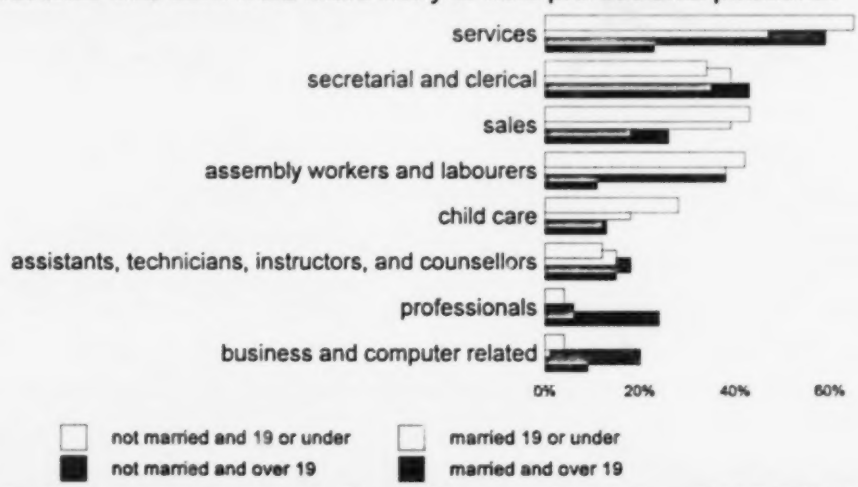
Mothers who were lone parents when their first child was born were more likely to have been employed as service workers or labourers. Continuously married and divorced mothers were more likely to have been employed in professional positions.



Over the course of this study, most mothers were employed in traditional female occupations such as clerical work (40 percent), sales (31 percent), and service (35 percent).[23] Mothers who were single when their first child was born were more likely to have been employed in service (Cramer's V = .33***) or labour jobs (Cramer's V = .23***); whereas, mothers who were divorced or continuously married were more likely to have been employed in professional positions (Cramer's V = .17***).

The age and marital status distinctions in employment follow the same general trends described in the earlier report from the FMP on mothers' education (Dechman, 2000b). Women who were married and over 19 years of age when their first child was born had substantially higher educational qualifications and were more likely to be working in professional areas, as nurses, teachers, lawyers, and doctors (Cramer's V = .31***).

Mothers who were teenagers or not married when their first child was born were more likely to work in service, assembly, and labourer jobs. Mothers who were married and over 19 years of age when their first child was born were more likely to hold professional positions.



Women who were under 19 years of age when their first child was born had the lowest levels of education and were most likely to be working in service Cramer's V = .36***), sales (Cramer's V = .18*), and labour jobs (Cramer's V = .33***). Although women who were single and over 19 years of age when

their first child was born were also highly represented in services and labour positions, they were slightly more likely than young mothers to have some type of post-secondary qualifications. Consequently older-single mothers represented the highest percentage in business, or computer-related fields.

Married mothers had the more stable employment patterns than did lone-parents.

Twenty-one percent of continuously-married mothers as compared to 41 percent of mothers who became lone parents through divorce and 40 percent of mothers who were lone parents when their first child was born, had 5 or more different jobs over the 20 years of this study (See Appendix Table 5).

Mothers who were married and over 19 years of age when their first child was born tended to have more stable employment than younger and/or single mothers.

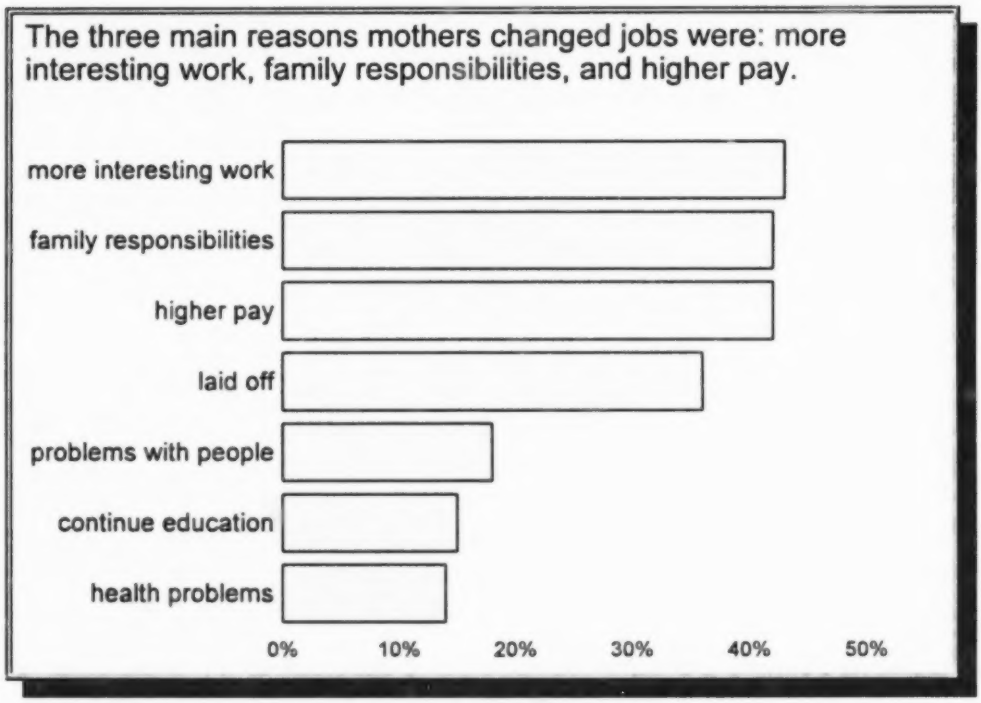
- 25 percent of mothers who were married and over 19 years of age,
- 43 percent of mothers who were single and over 19 years of age,
- 32 percent of mothers who were married and 19 years of age or under, and
- 39 percent of mothers who were single and 19 years of age or under when their first child was born, went on to have 5 or more different jobs over the course of the time they were raising their children[24] (See Appendix Table 6).

Overall, mothers who were married and over 19 years of age when their first child was born were more likely to have 'careers' while mothers who were single or younger when their first child was born were more likely to have a series of 'jobs'.

Almost half of mothers had left at least one job because of family demands.

In addition to work history information, the mothers in this study were asked to comment on the reasons they had left or changed jobs. The most frequently mentioned reasons for leaving or changing jobs were:

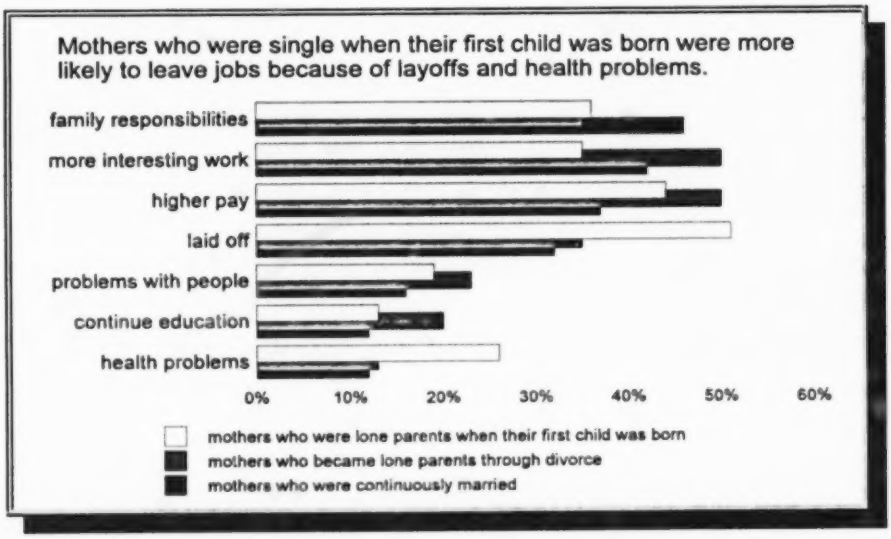
- to take a more interesting job,
- to take a higher paying job, or
- because of family demands.



Many women found that employment and family demands exerted competing pressures. Almost half of the mothers involved in this study (42 percent) had left or changed jobs at some time because of their family responsibilities.[25]

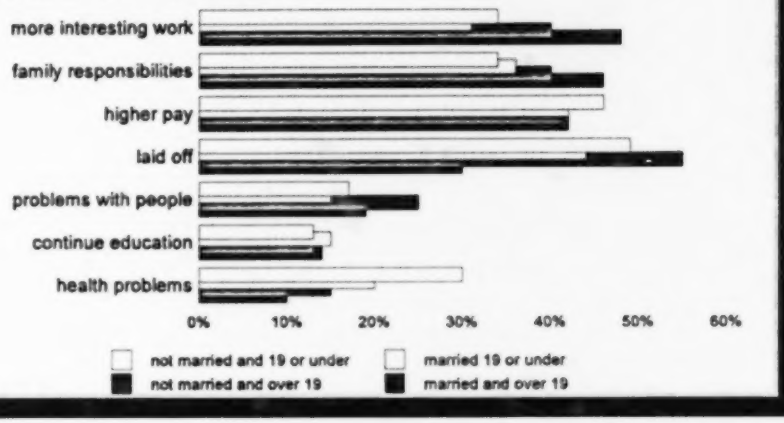
It would seem that most workplaces either lack policies that would allow integration of employment and family responsibilities, or if these policies exist, they do not adequately speak to the needs of employed mothers. Research on the Swedish system of promoting the integration of employment and mothering responsibilities indicates that such policies can enhance workplace continuity. Ludgren-Gaveras (1996) notes that in the United States, where single mothers comprise a very small proportion of the labour force, there are few public policies encouraging family-work integration. To the extent that such policies exist in the United States, they are concentrated in the private sector.

Mothers who were lone parents when their first child was born were more likely than other mothers to have been laid off or to have left jobs because of health problems.



While there was little difference between continuously married and divorced mothers with respect to their reasons for leaving or changing jobs, there were differences between these two groups and women who were single parents when their first child was born.[26] Mothers who were single when they started parenting were more likely to change jobs for negative reasons such as being laid off or having health problems (Cramer's V = .15***). The health problems that were mentioned often related to the types of labour and service jobs held by these women. For example, back or leg problems prevented women from performing jobs that required them to do lifting or to be on their feet for extended periods of time.

Mothers who were married and over 19 years of age when their first child was born were more likely to change jobs because the work was more interesting and less likely to change jobs because of layoffs or for health reasons.



A closer examination of age differences demonstrates that older-married mothers tended to have the most favourable labour-force experiences.[27] These women were more likely to change jobs for positive reasons such as more interesting work (Cramer's V = .16*) and they were less likely to change jobs because they were laid off (Cramer's V = .19***) or were physically unable to fulfill the requirements of the job (Cramer's V = .20***).

Even after twenty years, women who started parenting when they were under 20 years of age still had lower paying jobs with fewer benefits.

Not surprisingly, differences in the types of jobs held by mothers also translated into differences in job-related benefits. Even after 20 years had passed, the employment situations of women who became mothers when they were still teenagers continued to differ from mothers who were at least 20 years of age when their first child was born. A number of the older mothers with the best jobs had already retired, therefore the differences across the employed groups are in fact an under estimation of the general differences in employment returns.

Among women who were employed when their first child reached 20 years of age, most of those who had been 19 years of age or under when they had their first child were still earning less than $20,000 a year.

- 78 percent of mothers who were married and 19 years of age or under when their first child was born,
- 62 percent of mothers who were single and 19 years of age or under,
- 46 percent of mothers who were single and over 19 years of age, and
- 45 percent of mothers who were married and over 19 years of age and employed were earning less than $20,000 when their first child reached 20 years of age (See Appendix Table 7).

Only about half of younger mothers who were employed when their child reached 20 years of age had paid sick leave or were eligible for medical insurance coverage through their employer.

- 43 percent of mothers who had been married and 19 years of age or under when their first child was born,
- 52 percent of mothers who had been single and 19 years of age or under,
- 74 percent of mothers who had been single and over 19, and
- 71 percent of mothers who had been married and over 19 when their first child was born and who were employed at the time of the 20-year data collection were eligible for a medical insurance plan through their employer (See Appendix Table 8).
- 39 percent of mothers who had been married and 19 years of age or under,
- 44 percent of mothers who had been single and 19 years of age or under,
- 66 percent of mothers who had been single and over 19, and

- 62 percent of mothers who had been married and over 19 when their first child was born and who were employed at the time of the 20-year data collection had paid sick leave (See Appendix Table 9).

Not only were younger mothers less likely to have health-related coverage through their jobs, but they also tended to have little or no paid vacation.

Amount of Paid Vacation By Mother's Initial Marital Status and Age

	Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born			
Paid Vacation	Single and 19 or Under	Single and Over 19	Married and 19 or Under	Married and Over 19
No Paid Vacation	44%	37%	45%	31%
2 or Fewer Weeks	21%	15%	29%	13%
3 Weeks	14%	18%	11%	15%
4 Weeks	13%	15%	11%	15%
5 or More Weeks	8%	15%	4%	26%
Unweighted N	(62)	(33)	(55)	(163)

Cramer's V = .17***[28]

Among mothers who were employed when their child reached twenty years of age, 41 percent of the women who had been over 19 and married and 30 percent of women who had been over 19 and single when their first child was born had at least 4 weeks paid vacation. By contrast, only 15 percent of women who were married and 19 years of age or under and 21 percent of women who were single and 19 years of age or under when their first child was born had at least 4 weeks of paid vacation.

Mothers suggested improved childcare options and family-friendly workplace policies to help them better manage job and family demands.

Mothers were asked to describe:

- how often they felt torn between the demands of their jobs and the demands of their families, and

- how often they found it difficult to take time off work when they needed to attend to family responsibilities

The earlier report from the FMP entitled *The Dynamics of Family Life* described in more detail the care-giving support experienced by mothers (Dechman, 2000a). While fathers and/or other family members tend to assist with rule setting and taking children to lessons or events, mothers still retain primary responsibility for taking children to the doctor and looking after them when they are ill. These intensive, and often unexpected, health-related demands are the most likely to cause conflicts with work schedules and job responsibilities.

There were no significant differences in the probability of experiencing employment/family tensions based on the age or marital status of mothers when they gave birth to their first child.[29] On the other hand, there were differences between the experiences of mothers who were lone parents when their first child was born and the experiences of mothers who became lone parents through divorce. Mothers who became lone parents through divorce were the most likely to experience employment/family conflicts.

- 42 percent of mothers who became lone parents through divorce,

- 29 percent of mothers who were lone parents when their first child was born, and

- 23 percent of mothers who were continuously married and who had been employed at some time while their child was growing up said they always or usually felt torn between the demands of their job and the demands of their family[30] (See Appendix Table 10).

Differences in perceptions of employment/family conflicts between divorced and single lone parents relate to differences in the types of jobs held by these women. Mothers who had become lone parents through divorce were more likely than mothers who were lone parents at the time of birth to hold professional jobs and to have lengthy employment histories. These two factors were significantly correlated with the probability of experiencing employment/family conflicts. Women who were employed in relatively

steady professional jobs were more likely to report high employment/care-giving stress. Mothers who were employed in unstable service or labour jobs were more likely to say they would just leave and find another job if their work demands created severe conflicts with their family responsibilities.

When asked what would make it easier to manage job and family responsibilities, the three most frequent types of responses related to childcare, family-friendly workplace policies, and more help at home.[31] With reference to childcare, mothers talked about the need for: more extensive hours of operation, particularly for those who work evening or night shifts; more financial support or lower fees; safety issues; and the need for after-school activities and summer camps for older children. Comments about family-friendly workplace policies included: flex-time; being able to work at home; an understanding manager; part-time work; four-day work week, and sick days for children's illnesses. Answers pertaining to help at home were usually directed toward more involvement of husbands although there was some mention of help from other family members or paid services.

"If you can leave home and your mind is at ease about your children being safe, then you can do it."

"Need after-school programs at the schools to keep children occupied until mothers get home from work."

"Some childcare available for shift workers."

"Having a supportive spouse would help"

The two main reasons why mothers said they had difficulty taking time off work when they had to attend to family illnesses, etc. were the demands of the job and the attitudes of their employers.

"My boss was - you either work or stay at home."

"My employer wouldn't give me time off and I was afraid of losing my job."

Women talked about the difficulties of forcing a fit between employment and care-giving responsibilities within organizations and social structures that did not acknowledge or accept this combination of roles.

"It's really hard in the workplace. You have all the initiative but you are competing in a man's world. Men don't have responsibility for home management and children."

"I did 'the right thing' and stayed home with my kids... I had a really good job... Now, I'm embarrassed about the job I have. When you are raising your kids you can't keep your skills upgraded because of time and money restrictions. The labour force won't let you get back in even though you know you can do it. I am glad I stayed home with my kids but I think it is very unfortunate for moms who stay home. You're not regarded as being as much of a person as if you had been working. Even if women want to stay home with their children, they can't because of what will happen down the line."

One mother summed it up by saying what was needed was: "More respect from society for working mothers".

Is there a lot of disagreement about whether mothers should be employed or at home with their children?

The mothers involved in the FMP are a knowledgable group for discussing the inter-relation of child-care and employment responsibilities. These women have had twenty years experience in child rearing and the vast majority have been employed at some time. Mothers were presented with competing statements to assess their views on the employment/care-giving balance over the various stages of children's lives.

Mothers' opinions about integrating employment and child rearing responsibilities

If you were advising a new mother about whether or not to give up her job when the baby was born, would you recommend that she keep her job because it might be difficult to get another one.		that she give up her job, if she could possibly manage without it.	
3% completely agree	25% mostly agree	52% mostly agree	20% completely agree[32]

When children are under school age it is possible for parents to work full time and meet their children's needs, if they have flexible jobs.		When children are under school age it is almost impossible to work full time and meet the needs of young children.	
10% completely agree	46% mostly agree	30% mostly agree	14% completely agree[33]
It doesn't hurt for mothers to be employed part time when their children are under school age.		Unless mothers have to be employed, it is best for them to be at home until their children are school age.	
13% completely agree	40% mostly agree	31% mostly agree	16% completely agree[34]
Once children reach school age it is fine for mothers to be employed while their children are at school.		It is best if mothers are not employed even when their children are at school.	
21% completely agree	67% mostly agree	9% mostly agree	3% completely agree[35]
In a two-parent family where both the mother and father have jobs that offer good salaries and the opportunity to work less than full time without negative consequences, do you feel it would be best for:			
the father to be employed full time and the mother to be at home with the children.		for both the mother and father to spend less time working so that they can share the responsibilities of caring for their children.	
4% completely agree	22% mostly agree	51% mostly agree	23% completely agree[36]

Media presentations and the nature of comparative research methods have a tendency to look more for differences than for similarities. We have been presented with the impression that women have polarized views, with some believing mothers should 'stay at home' and others believing mothers should 'be employed' (Gunter, 1998). However, when we talked with mothers in the FMP there was much more agreement than disagreement.

The majority of respondents agreed it was preferable for mothers to be with their children when they were babies, even if this meant giving up their job. Only 3 percent of the respondents completely agreed that they would advise a new mother to keep her job because she might find it difficult to get another one. These responses indicate the strong priority women place on their mothering roles. Unfortunately, within employment settings that do not facilitate the integration of family and employment roles, many mothers still find themselves in the position of having to choose between the two. This choice then has repercussions for their future employment prospects.

The majority of respondents also agreed it was fine for mothers to be employed while their children were in school. Only 3 percent completely agreed that it was best for mothers not to be employed even when their children were in school.[37]

The areas where there was the most difference of opinion related to the desirability of part-time or full-time employment for mothers when children were toddlers and preschoolers. For this time period, there was a near even split between those mothers who leaned toward not being employed and those mothers who leaned toward being employed. These differences were, however, probably more indicative of different circumstances than of polarized views.

Respondents who said they were in complete agreement with one statement or the other, could be said to hold this view as a matter of principle. Whereas, mothers who mildly agreed with either statement were more likely to believe that whether or not a mother was employed largely depended on circumstances rather than any steadfast principle of right and wrong.[38] Unlike the women who said they completely agreed with one statement or the other, these women could not be said to feel strongly that women 'should' or 'should not' be employed when their children were under school age. Rather, they usually felt that mothers' employment, to a large extent, depended on other circumstances such as the stability of their husband's employment. The women who could be said to truly disagree on these issues were the women who indicated they strongly agreed with either one statement or the other. On either of the two statements pertaining to women being employed before their children reached school age, the maximum percentage of respondents who held such strong views was 16 percent. While some respondents tended to lean more in one direction and some tended to lean more in the other direction, these mothers did not hold unequivocal opinions. Thus, the presentation of women as having polarized views on the employment/care-giving mix can be misleading.

Sharon Hays' qualitative research with mothers in the United States presented similar findings.

> This portrait of the mommy wars is both exaggerated and superficial... Both paid working moms and stay-at-home moms, do the ideological

work of making their respective lists of the reasons they should work for pay and the reasons they should stay at home. Yet both groups also continue to experience and express some ambivalence about their current positions, feeling pushed and pulled in two directions (Hays, 1996: 132 - 145).

The results from the FMP indicate that most mothers believe:

- Children require intensive care when they are infants and this makes it difficult for mothers to be employed.

- Whether or not mothers should be employed when their children are preschoolers depends, to a large extent, on circumstances.

- It is fine for mothers to be employed when their children are in school.

The preceding discussion has been construed within the confines of traditional perceptions of mothers' roles. If we move outside this traditional view even slightly, we see that almost three quarters of women are in favour of changing our definition of mothers' roles and the employment/care-giving mix. Only 4 percent of the mothers in the FMP completely agreed that the traditional male breadwinner/female care-giver model was preferable. Approximately 22 percent believed this was somewhat true. Fifty-one percent mostly agreed that mothers and fathers should share both employment and care-giving responsibilities. Twenty-three percent completely agreed that mothers and fathers should share employment and care-giving.[39] While these questions obviously do not totally move us into a non-traditional way of thinking, they indicate that most mothers desire a shift toward more balanced rather than gender-segregated employment/care-giving roles. The response to this question indicated that even this conception of alternative employment/care-giving roles was seen as ideological and unrealistic in the current context. A number of respondents laughed when they were asked the question or made comments like "in your dreams". Traditional gender roles and differences in the earnings of women and men make this shift to more equitable role divisions difficult in real life.

A composite index, including all of the questions listed in the above table, indicates that continuously-married mothers tended to have the most traditional views and divorced mothers had the most liberal views. The opinions of single mothers fell between the other two groups.[40] The mean scale scores were 12.7 for continuously married, 13.1 for single, and 13.5 for divorced mothers (F = 5.53***).[41]

There are a number of factors, in addition to family structure, that influence mothers' attitudes about employment:[42]

- Women who held traditional views when they assumed the role of mothering still tended to have more traditional views at the time of the 20-year data collection (r = .30***).

- Mothers' attitudes were also influenced by their subsequent experiences. Women who had the most lengthy labour-force participation rates also had the most liberal attitudes about mothers being employed (r = .24***).

- Mothers with higher levels of education also tended to have more liberal views (r = .29***).

Regression analysis examining the effects of initial attitudes, education, and labour-force experience on mothers finial opinions about integrating employment and care-giving responsibilites, for mothers who were married when their first child was born

Variables	ßeta
Attitudes About Mothers' Employment When First Child was Born	.24***
Number of Years of Education	.24***
Length of Employment	.20***
Family Structure: Continuously Married versus Divorced	.20***

Multiple R = .52***, Unweighted N = 293[43]

Educational attainment and exposure to the work world can influence opinions about integrating child-rearing and employment, regardless of original attitudes.[44] Mothers with higher levels of education and more persistent employment are more likely to develop liberal attitudes of employment regardless of how they felt when their first child was born.

Differences between the opinions of divorced and continuously married mothers also remain statistically significant even when controlling for both original opinions and subsequent experiences.

Because continuously married mothers were not as vulnerable to economic hardship, they were less likely to deviate from the traditional view of mothering as a full-time vocation. Divorced mothers, on the other hand, had had first-hand experience of the economic vulnerability created by their interruptions in employment.

As one mother said "I was supported by somebody else. I will never let that happen again". Another divorced mother described her employment history as follows:

> "In the past, my husband was a hindrance for working. He was very against my working. I finally gave up to pacify my husband. This affected my employment history. I was always well recommended by my employers but the stress from home did not allow me to stay at work for long periods of time."

If the opinions of mothers are related to family structure, why are the opinions of single mothers not more liberal? While differences between the opinions of divorced and single mothers are not as pronounced as differences between married and divorced mothers, single mothers are somewhat more likely than divorced mothers to hold traditional views. When selecting for lone parents only, there was a slight correlation between type of lone-parent family and opinions about combining family and employment responsibilities ($r = .10$ $p < .1$).[45] This minimal association was explained primarily by differences in educational attainment.

Regression analysis examining the effects of initial attitudes, education, and labour-force experience on mothers' final opinions about integrating employment and care-giving responsibilities, for mothers who were lone parents at some time

	ßeta
Attitudes About Mothers' Employment When First Child was Born	.14
Number of Years of Education	.18**
Length of Employment	.11
Family Structure: Single versus Divorced Lone Parents	.01

Multiple R = .31***, Unweighted N = 167

Thus, human capital factors have the strongest effect on the work-related opinions of lone parents. As demonstrated throughout this report, single mothers have distinctly low levels of education and weak labour-force attachments. They are typically employed in marginal jobs where interruption in employment has little or no effect because there is no opportunity for upward mobility. With few employment prospects, these mothers continue to define themselves primary in their motherhood role.[46]

Summary of Key Points

- Neither the 'at home' nor 'employed' labels often ascribed to mothers in the literature accurately depict the realities of family life. Rather than being consistently 'at home' or consistently 'employed', most mothers in the FMP moved in and out, or increased or decreased their hours, of employment in response to competing labour force and family demands.

- Approximately 40 percent of mothers left at least one job because of family responsibilities.

- The intensity and duration of mothers' labour-force participation was to a large extent determined by educational qualifications. Mothers with lower levels of education spent less time in the labour force.

- As described in a previous report on mothers' education, women who were single when their first child was born tended to start out with, and continued to have, lower levels of education than mothers who were married when their first child was born. These differences were, to a large extent, determined by differences in age. Mothers who were 19 years or under when their first child was born had low levels of education, regardless of whether they were single or married.

- The results in this report show that such differences in educational attainment translate into differences in employment patterns. Mothers who were 19 years of age or younger when their first child was born, regardless of whether they were married or single, spent less time in the labour force. Even when they were employed, younger mothers tended to have a series of jobs in service and labour positions rather than more stable employment in professional or semi-professional areas.

- After 20 years, women who started parenting when they were 19 years of age or under, still held jobs with relatively low pay and few fringe benefits.

- In general, mothers thought it was best to reduce employment commitments when children were young but that it was fine for mothers to be employed when their children were in school.

- Divorced mothers tended to feel the most strongly that mothers should maintain their attachment to the work force because removal from the labour force created economic vulnerability when they became lone parents.

- Mothers with higher levels of education and more work experience tended to express the most liberal views of women integrating work and family responsibilities.

Discussion

The employment/care-giving mix is now the norm for most families. Only a small minority of mothers in the FMP were not employed over the entire time they were raising their children. This does not mean, however, that mothers had, or perceived it to be best for their children if they had, intensive employment demands throughout the entire child-rearing component of their lives. They felt strongly that mothers needed time to be with their children and many had been forced to leave jobs because of an inability to accommodate their care-giving responsibilities.

Because media presentations tend to present adversarial positions, we have come to believe that we have two polarized views on the employment/ parenting mix - those who believe mothers should be at home with their children and those who believe mothers should be employed. One regrettable consequence of this perceived division is that policy-makers are confronted with what appears to be a zero-sum situation. If they develop policies or programs that support mothers' employment, they go against 'at home' mothers. Alternatively, if they develop policies and programs that support 'stay at home' mothers, they go against mothers who are employed. As described above, most women in the FMP were not employed at some time, were employed part time at some time, were employed full time at some time, and, as indicated in the previous chapter, undertook some type of education or training while their children were growing up. Therefore, most mothers would have benefited from policies and programs that supported both the times they were employed, such as family-friendly workplace policies, and times they were not employed, such as extended pension coverage. Rather than static policies or programs that support either intensive home work or intensive paid employment, what is most needed is recognition and support for the changing nature of care-giving and employment demands.

Our current 'all or nothing' perspectives of employment and care giving simply do not fit real life. The demands of the global economy and technological change call for more flexible and fluid work patterns which could in turn support the flexibility needed to accommodate the

employment/family mix. Unfortunately, many organizational structures still work against such flexibility. Predefined position descriptions, budget allocations, and attitudes make it difficult to increase or decrease hours of work in response to changing family demands. Pensions are not always transferable from one job to the next and no allowances are made for periods of time when women are not employed. The lack of family-friendly workplace policies has forced many women to completely abandon employment while their children are young. As pointed out by one mother who had 'stayed at home' with her children, changes in skill demands and employer attitudes later make it difficult to resume employment. The challenge in today's labour market is to provide the flexibility needed by both employers and employees while maintaining the economic and social security needed by individuals and families.

Employees, employers, children, families, and society as a whole can benefit from new ways of structuring work. Without such changes, everyone suffers. Employers will not be able to recruit the people they need because of a shrinking labour force and growing care-giving commitments among qualified personnel. In most households, both parents now work outside the home. If organizations are not equipped to assist employees in managing both employment and family demands, they will reduce the labour pool from which they can draw. Likewise, tensions are created among co-workers and between workers and managers because organizational structures have not incorporated mechanisms that enable people to respond to family demands. From the perspective of parents, organizational structures and attitudes that work against the family-employment mix severely limit their abilities to contribute and advance. Without family-friendly workplace policies, both mothers and fathers who assume responsibility for the needs of the children will fall behind. Parents are stressed and find it difficult to meet the needs of their children when they face intensive, inflexible employment demands.

The intensity, duration, and relative economic rewards of employment are, to a large extent, determined by a mother's educational qualifications. Women with higher levels of education are more likely to be employed before becoming mothers and to continue their attachment to the labour force throughout the time they are raising their children. Their higher qualifications

and more consistent attachment to the work world offer some degree of economic security, even if they find themselves parenting on their own.

Whether married or lone parent, mothers with higher levels of education are less likely to have had periods of involuntary unemployment or involuntary part-time work. When mothers with higher levels of education want or need a job they are usually able to obtain employment, even though interruptions in their work histories sometimes diminished their job prospects and earnings. Mothers with higher levels of education who are employed are more likely than less well-educated mothers to be working in the primary sector which offers them higher wages, more job security, better fringe benefits, and more potential for wage increases.

While there are some differences in the education and associated employment patterns of continuously married and divorced mothers, single mothers are clearly the most disadvantaged group. Women who are single when their first child is born are more likely to be teenage mothers, less likely to have completed Grade 12, and less likely to have developed a foothold in the labour force before starting parenting. These single women subsequently are employed in the secondary labour market where they are paid low wages, have unstable employment, fewer fringe benefits, and little opportunity to increase their earnings.

The lack of educational credentials and work experience among single mothers has clear implications for the probability that they will require public income support to help them support their families. The next report from the FMP describes the interconnections among mothers' family structure, education, employment, and requirements for social assistance.

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Notes

1. This number excludes 26 of the original mother-child dyads because: the mother died, the child died, the child was adopted or the child was made a ward of the court before the time of the 10-year data collection.

2. Data from Statistics Canada substantiates this finding of very high labour-force participation rates. The following information is based on employment within the last 5 years for mothers with young children. "By 1993, 87% of married mothers had recent work experience, compared to 81% of separated or divorced mothers and 78% of those who had never married." (Compton, 1994: 24) The percentages provided in this report are based on weighted data. However, the unweighted Ns are provided to demonstrate the real number of cases on which the weighted estimates are based.

3. Employed includes maternity and sick leaves. Unweighted N = 408.

4. Unweighted data N = 408. Mean 12.46 SD 6.09 years.

5. Cramer's V is used as a measure of association for nominal data. "Cramer's V can only be thought of as a magnitude on a scale between zero and one; the bigger the number the stronger the association. It cannot be interpreted, for example, as the percentage of variation in one variable explained by another, nor can it be interpreted as the proportion of predictive errors which may be reduced by prior knowledge of one of the variables" (Loether and McTavish, 1974: 197, 198). * means p <= .01, ** means p <= .001, *** means p <= .0001.

   It is important to keep in mind that the measures of association are based on weighted data. All correlations have been rerun using unweighted data to ensure that the same relationships are evident. However, the measures of statistical significance are stronger for the weighted figures because of the larger number of cases.

6. The higher labour-force participation rates of divorced lone parents reflect the particular time period of this study and should not be interpreted as current trends. Information from Statistics Canada shows that until 1986 divorced mothers were more likely to hold a job than were married mothers. However, since that time, the positions of married and divorced mothers have reversed, with married mothers now being more likely to be employed (Crompton, 1994). One thing that has remained constant from the time this study began until today is that mothers who were lone parents when their child was born were consistently the least likely to be employed (Crompton, 1994, Dennis, 1994).

7. Statistics Canada also has linked employment differences between married and lone-parent mothers to considerations of age differences (Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993: 10).

8. There were only 28 common-law mothers with total work force information. Unlike other groups, the young common-law mothers (N = 18) had longer periods of employment than did the older common-law mothers (N = 10).

9. Education is defined as the mother's total number of years of education at the time of the 20-year data collection.

10. Marital status is a dummy variable with 0 = married and 1 = single when first child was born.

11. Unweighted data was used for this regression because both initial marital status and age were entered as independent variables. The regression does not include mothers who were living common law when their first child was born.

	Mean	SD
education	12.9	2.6
age	21.7	4.1
months of employment	144.4	73.9

	r
education with age	.46***
age with marital status	-.42***
marital status with education	-.27**

12. Statistics Canada has also linked differences in the employment patterns of lone parents to age and educational differences (Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993 and Crompton, 1994).

13. This refers to the mother's educational attainment at the time of the 20-year interview.

14. These percentages refer to the respondent's employment status when she discovered she was pregnant. She may have left her employment before the baby was born. Approximately 40 percent of mothers who were living common law were employed when they became pregnant.

15. This table only includes mothers who participated in the 20-year interview. There are many more young-married mothers in the second and third data collections because of the increased sample in this group. Some reduction in difference could be expected because of regression toward the mean.

16. The employment rates presented in this report are slightly different than the employment rates given in the previous report because of the separate analysis of common-law couples and because of the concentration on continuous respondents. These difference are, however, only for two or three percentage points and do not affect substantive group differences.

17. Mothers who started out in common-law relationships also had relatively high levels of unemployment. (N = 29).

18. Unweighted N = 435.

19. Part-time employment by original marital status and age groups also did not demonstrate significant differences.

20. Statistics Canada has reported similar findings with lone parents being more likely to be working part time because they were unable to get a full-time job (1992: 24).

21. Similar to the results of the FMP, Statistics Canada has found that lone-parent mothers were more likely than married mothers to be working part time because they could not obtain full--time employment (Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993: 13).

22. The young common-law mothers also had a high probability of working part time because of an inability to obtain full-time work.

23. Unweighted N = 408 mothers for whom there was total work history information.

24. Fifty percent of mothers who were 19 years or under and living common law (N = 18) and 10 percent of mothers who were over 19 years of age and living common law (N = 10) when their first child was born had 5 or more jobs during their child-rearing years.

25. This 42 percent does not appear to be an inflated estimate in comparison with other Statistics Canada findings. "In 1991, 30% of non-participant lone parents with children younger than age 6 had left their last job because of personal or family responsibilities" (Devereaux and Lindsay, 1993: 11). Unweighted N = 443.

    In addition to the reasons for changing jobs listed in the graph, some mothers also mentioned changing jobs because of early retirement, problems with transportation, boredom, or because they had moved. Outside of the areas listed in the graph, the most frequently mentioned reason for leaving or changing jobs was that they had relocated because their husband was transferred or had changed jobs.

26. Unweighted N = 441.

27. N = 440.

28. Mothers who had been in common-law relationships when their first child was born were the least likely to have paid vacation.

29. N = 437.

30. Mothers who had been divorced were also more likely to say they had had difficulty taking time off work at some point. Fifty-five percent of both mothers who were continuously married and mothers who were lone parents when their first child was born and 39 percent of mothers who became lone parents through divorce said they had never found it difficult to take time off work when they needed to attend to family demands such as a child's illness.

31. Multiple response variable with 536 responses. These stated priorities are consistent with results from the Canadian National Child Care Study conducted by Statistics Canada (Lero et al, 1988: 12).

32. Unweighted N = 459.

33. Unweighted N = 467.

34. Unweighted N = 467.

35. Unweighted N = 467.

36. Unweighted N = 467.

37. Statistics Canada attitudinal surveys have had similar results. "As recently as 1982, only four out of ten Canadians agreed that women should participate in the labour force when they have young children, while nine out of ten agreed if the women had no young children" (Zukewich Ghalam, 1997: 14).

38. Most other questions on these types of issues have asked respondents their level of agreement or disagreement with one statement such as "Mothers should not be employed until their children start school". However, the general argument is the same. Those people who say they mildly agree or mildly disagree are not voicing strong opinions, but instead feel that this decision depends, to a large extent, on circumstances.

39. This finding has also held true in Statistics Canada's research. "For example, 73% of women, compared with 68% of men, agreed or strongly agreed that both spouses should contribute to household income. The support for shared responsibility for family income, especially among women, may stem from the fact that working for pay also provides a certain degree of economic security and independence" (Zukewich Ghalam, 1997: 15-16). Other research has shown that while many mothers prefer to be employed, they do not always prefer full-time employment. "While 75% of parents with primary responsibility for childcare were employed full time, only 34% of all parents said that full-time employment was the most desirable option for them: 53% preferred part-time employment, while 13% preferred not to be employed (Lero et al, 1988: 12).

40. Cronbach Alpha = .60. A high score indicates the most liberal attitudes and a low score indicates the most conservative attitudes.

41. Scheffe post hoc comparisons demonstrate statistically significant differences between the divorced and married groups only. Levene's test for homogeneity of variances .369 NS.

42. Neither mother's initial age nor initial marital status were significantly correlated with their opinions of the employment/care-giving mix at the time of the 20-year data collection. Pearson's r = .03 and .01 respectively. See Loether and Mctavish for information on computation of Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient.

43.

Variable	Mean	SD
total years of education	13.2	2.4
total months of employment	151.0	73.9
original opinions about employment	2.39	1.15
employment/care giving opinion scale for 20-year data collection	12.8	2.5

Variables	r
education by employment	.36***
education by initial opinions	.19***
education by family structure	-.01
employment by initial opinions	.24***
employment by family structure	.04
family structure by initial opinions	-.08

The mother's original opinion was measured by the following question: "Some people think that a mother should not work outside the home while her child is still an infant. How do you feel about this?" Response categories ranged from completely agree to completely disagree.

44. The opinions of continuously married, divorced, and single mothers were not different at the time they became mothers.

    For all stages of child rearing, divorced mothers were the most likely to indicate it was fine for mothers to be employed. While single mothers were the most likely to think mothers should be at home with their children when they were preschoolers, they generally felt it is fine for mothers to work while their children were in school. Continuously married mothers stood out as being distinctly less likely to believe that mothers should not be employed even when their children are in school. Both continuously married and single mothers were more likely than divorced mothers to believe in the traditional breadwinner model of the family.

45. Unweighed N = 210.

46. Other research has also demonstrated that women with low levels of education tend to define themselves primarily in their motherhood role (Smith, 1997).

Appendix for FMP Employment Report

The percentages given in these tables are based on weighted data with the unweighted number of cases provided in parentheses at the bottom of each column.

Table 1

Employment Status When Mother Became Pregnant with First Child By Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born

	Marital Status and Age			
Employment Status	Single and 19 Years or Under	Single and Over 19 Years	Married and 19 Years or Under	Married and Over 19 Years
Employed	15%	70%	25%	80%
Not Employed	85%	30%	75%	20%
Total Unweighted N	(96)	(47)	(28)	(230)

Cramer's V = .59***

Table 2

Before Child was in School: Mothers' Employment Status By Overall Marital Status

	Overall Marital Status		
Employment Status	Continuously Married	Divorced	Single
Full Time	57%	51%	62%
Part Time	33%	32%	22%
Full and Part Time	10%	17%	16%
Total Unweighted N	(150)	(90)	(89)

Cramer's V = .10

Table 3

Between Child Starting School and Age 10: Mothers' Employment Status By Overall Marital Status

	Overall Marital Status		
Employment Status	Continuously Married	Divorced	Single
Full Time	47%	55%	54%
Part Time	41%	27%	35%
Full and Part Time	12%	18%	11%
Total Unweighted N	(150)	(96)	(97)

Cramer's V = .10

Table 4

When Child was Older Than 10: Mothers' Employment Status By Overall Marital Status

	Overall Marital Status		
Employment Status	Continuously Married	Divorced	Single
Full Time	42%	62%	58%
Part Time	31%	11%	19%
Full and Part Time	27%	27%	24%
Total Unweighted N	(199)	(110)	(114)

Cramer's V = .16***

Table 5

Number of Different Jobs Held by Mothers Over the 20 Years of the Study By Overall Marital Status

	Overall Marital Status		
Number of Jobs Held	Continuously Married	Divorced	Single
No Jobs	4%	2%	5%
1 Job	23%	13%	6%
2 Jobs	22%	19%	17%
3 Jobs	20%	14%	16%
4 Jobs	10%	11%	16%
5 or More Jobs	21%	41%	40%
Total Unweighted N	(189)	(105)	(112)

Cramer's V = .19***

Table 6

Number of Different Jobs Held by Mothers Over the 20 Years of the Study By Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born

Number of Jobs Held	Marital Status and Age: Single and 19 Years or Under	Single and Over 19 Years	Married and 19 Years or Under	Married and Over 19 Years
No Jobs	5%	6%	5%	3%
1 Job	5%	9%	11%	23%
2 Jobs	18%	11%	14%	23%
3 Jobs	15%	20%	19%	19%
4 Jobs	18%	11%	19%	7%
5 or More Jobs	39%	43%	32%	25%
Total Unweighted N	(77)	(35)	(74)	(192)

Cramer's V = .17**

Table 7

Among Mothers Who Were Employed When Their First Child was 20 Years of Age: Earnings By Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born

Earnings	Overall Marital Status and Age: Single and 19 Years or Under	Single and Over 19 Years	Married and 19 Years or Under	Married and Over 19 Years
Up to $10,000	28%	14%	44%	23%
$10,000 to $19,999	34%	32%	34%	22%
$20,000 to $29,999	19%	43%	14%	18%
$30,000 and Up	19%	11%	8%	37%
Total Unweighted N	(59)	(35)	(71)	(170)

Cramer's V = .23***

Table 8

Among Mothers Who Were Employed When Their First Child was 20 Years of Age: Those Who Were Eligible for Medical Insurance Through Employer By Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born

Eligible for Medical Insurance	Marital Status and Age: Single and 19 Years or Under	Single and Over 19 Years	Married and 19 Years or Under	Married and Over 19 Years
Yes	52%	74%	43%	71%
No	48%	26%	57%	29%
Total Unweighted N	(63)	(34)	(58)	(164)

Cramer's V = .24***

Table 9

Among Mothers Who Were Employed At the Time of the 20-Year Data Collection: Paid Sick Leave By Marital Status and Age When First Child was Born

Paid Sick Leave	Marital Status and Age: Single and 19 Years or Under	Single and Over 19 Years	Married and 19 Years or Under	Married and Over 19 Years
Yes	44%	66%	39%	62%
No	56%	34%	61%	38%
Total Unweighted N	(63)	(33)	(58)	(163)

Cramer's V = .21*

Table 10

Employment/Family Conflict By Overall Marital Status

Feelings of Being Torn Between Job and Family	Overall Marital Status: Continuously Married	Divorced	Single
Always	12%	22%	16%
Usually	11%	20%	13%
Sometimes	43%	36%	43%
Not Very Often/Never	34%	22%	28%
Total Unweighted N	(215)	(119)	(130)

Cramer's V = .13***